1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

233

FIG. 3. The summer camp of Lu 65, a rich Monguor, subject of Lu T'u-ssu, who enrolled in the Tibetan tribe of Wasa. His T'u-ssu was unable to prevent his departure.

The author's small white tent is at the left. The whole family wore Tibetan clothes and were already speaking Tibetan. This Monguor had left the clan of his T'u-ssu because of troubles with the T'u-ssu's officials, and also because in the Monguor country the pasturage was insufficient for his big herds. It was remarkable how the whole family, in a very few years, had adapted itself so completely to the Tibetan pattern of life. (Picture taken in 1917.)

[p.69c]

512 462 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 233 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 241 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 294 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 462 592 606 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*).

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture.

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault.

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/Kansu Monguors/

have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

on the luckless family.

The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

M [251] M [437]